# Gazette of the United States.

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## A SKETCH of the POLITICAL STATE of AMERICA.

NUMBER VIII.

THE arrangement of the great constitutional powers of Government, viz. the legislative, judicial, and executive, into three distinct and seperate bodies, differently constituted, and independent of each other, forms the best security against encroachments upon either, or the abuse of the power appertaining to each, which human ingenuity has yet devised; as the opposing interests of the several branches tend to produce that ballance and equilibrium between the whole, which affords a great palladium to the liberties of the people, and forms a government of laws in contradistinction to a government of men.

In proceeding to examine the present National System, by the criterion just established, we shall find as near a conformity to it, as the circumstances and relative situation of the governments priorly existing, seemed to admit of; though perhaps not so completely conformable, as might have been wished: One branch of the Legislature is composed of men chosen directly by the people, and at stated periods, which are as near to each other as is compatible with the real interests of the people; for a shorter period than two years, would not have afforded sufficient time to become acquainted with those points, in which these interests consisted: The proportion of the Representatives to the people are adequate to the purposes of their institution, and at the same time free from the inconveniencies and indecision peculiar to multitudinous assemblies; they (very properly) hold the purse-strings of the nation, which it is natural to suppose they will never unloose, but for the benefit of the people, in which consists their greatest security; as the want of money to support it must ever bar the progress of any combination, hostile to their rights; and as a further security against oppressive systems of taxation, we have the opposing interests of those who levy them, being themselves subject to the burthen equally with the rest of the community.

We now proceed to some general reflections on the other branch of the Legislature, which we find to be chosen indirectly by the people, thro the medium of each particular government, and intended to support distinctly, that corporate power of their constituents, which is the essence of this confederated Republic, or confederation of Republics, and which affords the reason of an equal representation from all. While this body is peculiarly calculated to preserve these essential distinctions, it has a tendency to check the progress of any party-projects, and to temper that zeal and passion in the other branch, which too often bears sway in popular assemblies, while their riper years, and more mature judgment, give the people a right to expect the most beneficial consequences from their concurrent power. The advantages to be derived from their duration in office, for forming treaties, &c. need no comment.

Upon the joint wisdom of the two branches of the Legislature, will the Judicial power be established to be perfectly independent of either, after being thus constituted, which independence must arise from the tenure of the offices "*during good behavior*," and such salaries as will give them ease, and prevent the chance of corruption; and perhaps in no case can abstract and uncontroled power, be lodged with more security to liberty and the rights of the people—the experience of several States in the union will strongly support this position.

We come now to the executive branch of power, the formation of which proves the difficulties that attended its establishment, and which under all circumstances, is thought to be the most eligible that could have been adopted. The objections which now attend it, consist in the want of a proper responsibility in the first Magistrate (owing to the partition of his powers with the Senate) which is peculiarly attainable in an elective Magistracy, and affords the most effective security against the abuse of power; while here we also find the same men legislators and executors of the laws, which in some cases may prevent their impartial administration; but the present position of the executive, as corresponding with the general ideas of those who planned it, may be deemed the most expedient; and while that great man fills the executive power of this government, to attempt half whose eulogium the ablest panegyrist must blush, and against whom the tongue of calumny has never dared to circulate a whisper, Justice will have her commanding power, and the various interests of the community be directed and guarded by an equal hand. If any future alterations of the government should be found necessary, we invoke the smiles of Heaven on the attempt.

The great objects to be attended to by this government, as *Revenue*, *Agriculture*, *Manufactures*, and *Commerce*—future principles of *Taxation*, *Public Debts*, *Public Faith*, or *Credit*, *unlocated Lands*, *Naval and Military Strength*, *&c. &c.* will be attended to in the form heretofore pursued, or by a special publication.

AMERICANUS.

## *STYLE FOR THE PRESIDENT.*

[If the following Speculation, taken from the "DAILY ADVERTISER" of Thursday last, did not merit a re-publication from the importance of the subject it refers to, yet its beauties as a Composition, would be a sufficient apology for its appearance in the Gazette of the United States; but its eligibility on both accounts is strikingly apparent.]

*To the PRINTER.*

SIR,

A committee of Congress are appointed to report on the style in which the legislature are to address THE PRESIDENT of the United States: That something in addition to the word President is proper, may be inferred from the practice of all nations, the most civilized, and the most barbarous, from the conduct of these States, towards their own officers, and from the declarations of those who by their sex or station, are placed out of the vortex of politics, and speak only from their feelings: By these the title of *Excellency* is considered as too little for so dignified a subject, and for want of a better term, the word *Highness* is substituted. This too is exceptionable, as conveying no definite meaning; and as it has hitherto been applied to the little Princes of Europe, cannot be expressive of the rank of the first magistrate of a free people. Why should not the style be commensurate to his station? If he is the first magistrate, why should any other appellation be sought in the court calenders of Europe, or the sublime bombast of the east; GEORGE WASHINGTON, SUPREME MAGISTRATE, AND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, is surely not harsher than the various titles assumed by the executive powers of other nations; nor will *Your Magistracy*, or *Your Supremacy*, sound worse than *Your Grace*, *Your Eminence*, and *Your Highness*, when once the ear is familiarized to the sound.

The ideas these terms convey, are not only better adapted to the subject, but are infinitely more elevated, since in this first application, they will borrow all the lustre of the man to whom they are solely appropriated, and to every hearer they will be synonimous with BRAVERY, DIGNITY, PATRIOTISM, VIRTUE, WISDOM, WASHINGTON; and when the tears of a grateful people shall bedew the grave of their beloved Chief, these titles, endeared and dignified by their first wearer, will reflect lustre on his successor.

A. L.

"WILMINGTON, MAY 9, 1789.

*An ADDRESS of the Delaware Society for promoting domestic Manufactures, to* GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President-General of the United States.*

WE the members of the Delaware Society for promoting domestic manufactures, beg leave to present your Excellency with our warmest congratulations on your appointment to the presidency of the United States.

Deeply penetrated with the most indelible sentiments of gratitude for your former inestimable services, we participate the lively effusions of joy so universally communicated by your consenting to accept the high trust to which you have been so honorably elected.

We are sensible that the establishment of a general government, in which freedom and energy are so happily blended, is an object of the highest consequence, and will require the restoration of that confidence in the administration of public affairs, which the general opinion of your disinterested virtue, moderation and other eminent qualities alone can inspire.

As your excellency has been pleased to relinquish the enjoyment of a dignified retirement, and in compliance with the ardent solicitations of a numerous and grateful people, once more to afford us the benefit of your sage direction and illustrious example, we contemplate with peculiar satisfaction the credit and renown our new government will acquire, even in distant nations, by its commencement under the glorious auspices of your distinguished abilities and celebrated name.

We are conscious of our unspeakable obligation to Providence for the preservation of your invaluable life to a period so important, and our most fervent wishes will be unceasing that your excellency may long preside in the councils of America, with uninterrupted harmony and the superior delight of promoting the happiness and prosperity of a rising empire.

Being fully convinced of your Excellency's indulgent attention to whatever is designed to be of public utility, we flatter ourselves, the society who have the honor to present this address, having associated under an engagement to clothe themselves in complete suits of domestic manufactures, and encourage every branch of the same in America, will meet your Excellency's approbation, and be favorably considered as an additional instance of the federal and patriotic sentiments of the citizens of Delaware.

*In behalf of the Society,*

THOMAS MAY, VICE-PRESIDENT.

*To the Delaware Society for promoting Domestic Manufactures.*

GENTLEMEN,

I return you my sincere thanks for your congratulations and good wishes on my appointment to the presidency of the United States.

Convinced that the happy effects which may be derived from our government, must depend, in a considerable degree, on the determination of the people to support the person entrusted with the administration, I shall rejoice to find that my acceptance has met with their approbation.

The promotion of domestic manufactures, will, in my conception, be among the first consequences which may naturally be expected to result from an energetic government.—For myself, having equal regard for the prosperity of the farming, trading, and manufacturing interests, I will only observe, that I cannot conceive the extension of the latter (so far as it may afford employment to a great number of hands which would be otherwise idle) can be detrimental to the former. On the contrary, the concurrence of virtuous individuals, and the combination of economical societies to rely as much as possible on the resources of our own country, may be productive of great national advantages, by establishing the habits of industry and economy. The objects, therefore, of your institution are, in my opinion, highly commendable; and you will permit me to add, gentlemen, that I propose to demonstrate the sincerity of my opinion, on this subject, by the uniformity of my practice, in giving a decided preference to the produce and fabrics of America, whensoever it may be done without involving unreasonable expences, or very great inconveniences.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

## *NATIONAL EXAMPLE.*

A correspondent informs us that at the late court held for Chester-county, the grand jury, from principles of patriotism, confined themselves to FEDERAL liquors, so that their expences during the sitting of the court for two days, amounted only to six shillings each man; whereas former grand juries used to spend from 18 to 22s. 6d.—An example highly worthy of imitation!

## *HINTS TO MANUFACTURERS.*

THE practice of beginning works on a large and expensive plan is attended with two very great evils. It prevents prudent people and people of small stocks, engaging in them. It renders such works very hazardous adventures, for all new works are liable to losses from want of experience in the owners and workmen; and an error committed in large works may prove fatal to a moderate capital, which would scarcely be perceived in similar works on a small plan. In works not well understood, the losses which arise from doing the business in a less perfect manner on a small scale, are small compared with those which attend committing errors in works on a large scale; and in all new works errors will be made. In this country where the value of money is high, it is almost impossible *any profit* should be a compensation for having so large sums out as must be put into the expensive projects. Most new works have been begun too large in this country. If we built a Slitting Mill, it was made sufficient to slit as much Iron in a week as would sell in half a year. If we built a Glass House, it was at the expence of thousands, and calculated to cover all that part of the country with glass, which was not covered by the house. The history of Potash works in New-England ought to be a lesson to every manufacturing projector—The first potash work in this country is said to have been erected at, or near what is now called Belchertown in Massachusetts. The proprietor began with building an enormous great House, somewhat like a large New-England Meeting-House, this building he furnished with as many large tubs full bound with strong Iron hoops as could be conveniently placed round the inside of the house, each tub so high and large that a person might as well clean the Augean stable as clean it out, from these his ley was to be drawn. In the mean time people were employed to cut out and burn the wood of the surrounding forests to supply ashes, which indeed were procured in considerable quantities, but as is usual in such attempts not proportioned to the expence. By the time his ashes were ready he had built in the centre of his house, four furnaces, the fires of which were made to meet at a point in one chimney which was to carry up the Smoke, with an idea that he could make a more intense heat by the meeting of the fires of four furnaces than by any single furnace. The intention was, that the strong ley should be made to run in small streams from the surrounding vats into the place where the fires of his four furnaces met, which were to form so intense a heat as to constantly evaporate all the moisture and let the dry salts fall into a bed or pan which was provided below to receive them. These furnaces being duly dried and made hot, the fires were urged, and the ley suffered to run in small streams to the place where it was to be evaporated, but the instant the ley came into this violent heat the chimney blew up, and every thing near it suffered by the explosion. This taught the proprietor that he must boil his ley, and for that purpose he procured pans and went on to make more potash which was sent to market, but what with expences altogether disproportioned to the business, and what with the errors he made in prosecuting the project, the man broke and his potash works went to ruin.

After this some gentlemen from Scotland set up the works in Suffield in Connecticut, they brought out from Scotland every utensil even to the tubs and erected a work some what in the Meeting house stile, but being men of business and prudence they continued their works perhaps without great loss, or great profit. From that time to this the projects for making potash have become less and less expensive, till now some of the most profitable potash works we have, were erected at less than twenty dollars expence exclusive of the Iron Kettles.

Begin manufacturing projects with small works and add what by experience is found necessary.

## LONDON, *March* 5.

This morning some dispatches were received from Gibraltar, which were brought over in a brig arrived at one of the western ports. A few letters were also brought over, which contain advices that the Emperor of Morocco is fitting out his whole naval force; and that provision vessels are sailing almost daily for Constantinople to the relief of the Turks, who do not find their supplies out of Asia so regular as formerly.

It is thought that Joseph will overturn the third estate, or commons of Brabant, which persists in refusing him any supplies. The two first estates have been summoned on particular business, and it is supposed that this is the object of their convocation. This assembly is sworn to the most scrupulous silence.

*May* 9. The King of Sweden has published an Ordinance, ordering four fast days to be held during the present year. The critical situation of affairs has induced his Majesty to judge it necessary. It concludes with the following words, deserving of being handed down to posterity,

for their dignity of ſentiment and patriotic worth:

" May a pure and ſincere affection for our country, ſtrengthen thoſe ties of friendſhip, which bind us to you, and you with one another! fleeting is this ſhort, terreſtrial and laborious life; and with it vaniſhes that inequality of rank, which Providence has placed between you and us".

*March* 10. On Tueſday a moſt brilliant illumination was ſet up at Kew by the command of her Majeſty. It was a moſt ſuperb picture, repreſenting a figure of Eſculapius preſenting a medallion of the King to Britain, by the deſire of Providence, who was ſeated on the clouds, accompanied by boys repreſenting the arts and ſciences, &c. the work of Rebecca.

Among the various demonſtrations of joy on Tueſday evening, nothing more forcibly ſpoke the loyalty of the ſubject than the illumination of the King's-bench priſon, where each long mourning captive wip'd the tear of anguiſh, and parted with his laſt penny to ſpeak his gratitude to Heaven for the reſtoration of the King; a butt of porter was given among the priſoners, and loyal toaſts were cheerfully quaffed, and in the evening ſeveral well executed tranſparencies made a pleaſing appearance.

St. Paul's Cathedral is certainly to be illuminated the evening the King attends it: It will be done by contract, and will coſt 2000 guineas.

*Extract of a letter from Copenhagen, March* 3.

" An attempt has been made here to burn the Ruſſian fleet by an incendiary, one Capt. O'Brien, from Oſtend, whoſe ſhip lying amongſt them, faſt in the ice, it had been planned to ſet on fire, —that a general conflagration might enſue.— Providentially it has been diſcovered in time: for, if it had ſucceeded, half the town would have been blown up by the large quantity of gun powder on board the Ruſſian men of war. He had been bribed by a Swediſh emiſſary, and was to have received a reward of 4000l. ſterling. O'Brien is arreſted, and is to take his trial; but the villain who planned this horrid plot is unfortunately eſcaped."

Yeſterday upwards of 250 volumes of Eaſt India tranſactions, in manuſcript, were brought from the India houſe to Weſtminſter-hall, preparative to the commencement of the trial of Mr. Haſtings. Each of theſe books contains from 1500 to 3000 pages.

The ſlave trade, and the teſt act, are again to be agitated in the courſe of this ſeſſion.

The Herald of yeſterday, though it loudly proclaims the preceding day, that the King was incapable of holding the ſcepter, and ſtill as bad as he was in the height of his diſorder, has thought proper to diſcontinue that REBELLIOUS theme, and give the lie to its own aſſertions.

MARCH 11. That beſt and moſt difficult of all titles, a Patriot Miniſter, may now be fairly given to Mr. Pitt. Who ever ſo ably, or ſo nobly ſtood forward to reſcue a country from deſperation?

MARCH 12. We are deſired to mention, by way of caution, that the judges have given it as their opinion, it is TREASON to aſſert either *orally* or in *print*, that the King's mind is *deranged*, or that he is not in a capacity to act as Sovereign of the Britiſh empire.

The Heral was burned on Tueſday at New-Lloyd's and Will's Coffee houſes at the Change, for the treaſonable matter it contained on Saturday laſt; and the apology on Tueſday needs no further comment, and they ought to be burned by Jack Ketch, they ſpeak for themſelves. We could have told the public, before they announced it, that the Printer, fearing the juſt reſentment of government, intended to viſit Ireland, and Saturday's paper was his finale.

*March* 16. Admiral Sir Charles Douglaſs fell down dead, in a fit of apoplexy, as he was entering the aſſembly-room at Edinburgh, a few days ſince. The purpoſe of his journey to Scotland, was to take leave of his friends previous to his departure for Halifax ſtation in America; to which the Lords of the admiralty had appointed him.

The preparations in Pruſſia proceed with great alacrity. The Empreſs is unwilling to ſtep forward and give a poſitive anſwer to the demands of the Poliſh Diet, until ſhe is become miſtreſs of Bender, and the emperor is in poſſeſſion of Belgrade. Every advice ſeems to aſſure us, that ſhe is playing a very deep game.

The Ruſſians are ſending large ſums of money to Conſtantinople, which they have found by paſt experience to be the moſt certain way of ſecuring a favorable peace with the Turkiſh miniſtry.

The Spaniſh, Pruſſian, and other foreign ambaſſadors, who had the honor of an audience with His Majeſty, on Wedneſday laſt, ſpeak in the moſt confirmed manner of his Majeſty's happy recovery. He took up the ſubject matter of their laſt audiences with the cleareſt recollection, and diſcuſſed foreign affairs with ſuch preciſion and familiarity as if he had not had the interruption from illneſs.

On Tueſday ſe'nnight about midnight, or the next morning about one o'clock, the ſhip London, of London, Capt. Alexander Curling, a lieutenant in his Majeſty's navy, from Charleſton, with rice, tobacco, indigo, and ſome ſpecie, was totally loſt on the weſternmoſt rocks of Scilly, and immediately went to pieces. The Capt. thirteen hands, with Mrs. Riely, a widow, a paſſenger, and a native of Ramſgate, all periſhed, Joſeph Turtle, carpenter, only ſaved.

The celebrated Marquis de Conflans, died ſuddenly on Tueſday the 26th ult. while he was waſhing his hands.

Some ſhort time prior to the Emperor's declaration againſt the Turks, the flower of his army, to the amount of 40,000 men, were reviewed by His Imperial Majeſty, and General Laudaun, near Vienna.

After the line had been paſſed with the uſual forms, &c. the troops were divided for a ſham fight; one half commanded by the Emperor, the other by Gen. Laudaun. The armies had but juſt ſeparated, before the old veteran Laudaun, with the eyes of Argus, diſcovered, and ſecured the advantage of ſome high ground from which he had a perfect view of the Emperor's movements: The general inſtantly gave the command of this advantageous ſpot to an able officer; while he, with a detachment of his army, filed off, and took poſt under cover of a woody hill.

The firing had not continued an hour before the Emperor, who lay detached from his main body, was ſurrounded by Laudaun's party, when the old General, riding up to the Emperor, with much gallantry ſaid, " he could not believe, but that his Majeſty had deſigned him the honor of taking him priſoner;" upon which the Emperor replied with much good humour—" That the circumſtance had fully proved that he was but a young ſoldier; but he had ſome conſolation left, in knowing that he was not the only crowned head, who had bowed to the ſuperior abilities of the firſt General in the world."

Our correſpondent at Verſailles ſent us the ſubſequent article, dated Feb. 27, received in London this morning: The King is ſhut up every morning to run over the numberleſs publications which appear; and no doubt he ſees with pleaſure, how the French ſupport and reſpect him. They report him to have made the following ſpeech: " All things conſidered, I think the Liberty of the Preſs produces more truths than lies; and muſt therefore, notwithſtanding many evils, be protected to favor the good that reſults from it."

Her Majeſty of France, who through the courſe of our Moſt Gracious Sovereign's late illneſs, has ſympathiſed with his royal conſort with a feeling which did honor even to the dignity of her high ſtation, propoſes to give a grand gala at court, the moment the official accounts arrive there of his recovery; all the foreign Ambaſſadors, with the principal of the French, and all the Engliſh nobility now reſiding in Paris, are invited.

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PHILADELPHIA, *May* 13.

## *WAR IN THE EAST INDIES.*

*Extract of a letter from Madras, dated Sept.* 28.

" Since writing the foregoing, I have to inform you, that hoſtilities are once more commenced between the Engliſh and Tippo Saib, (the late Hyder Ally's ſon) who, from the time the Engliſh firſt ſettled upon the coaſt, to this day, has been their moſt inveterate enemy, having always declared them the ravagers of the country. He is allowed to be the greateſt military genius of the Eaſt, and commands the greateſt army of any of the eaſtern Princes. During the late Carnatic war, the Engliſh had every thing to fear from ſo formidable an enemy. Hyder himſelf could command an army of 200,000 men, while his ſon at the head of a numerous army, over-run the whole Carnatic, and burſt like a torrent upon their enemies, taking ſome of the moſt capital places. The great pains which Hyder always took to train his ſon up to avenge his country's wrongs, does him honor. That Prince has always declared his predilection for the French. Since our arrival, a detachment has been ſent to the northward, to reinforce the Engliſh in that quarter. A battle ſince has taken place, and two battalions of the Company's troops have been entirely cut off, the Engliſh have however, ſome advantage on their ſide, as they have taken two of Tippo Saib's forts.

It is to be hoped, ſays a correſpondent, that the committee lately appointed to aſcertain the debt of the United States, will not forget to report the debts of each State to its citizens. Theſe, it is ſaid, are equal to the whole debt of the United States.

In the year 1850, it will probably be as incredible, that the citizens of the United States (with their preſent immenſe reſources for manufactures of all kinds) imported their cloathing from a country 3000 miles diſtant from them, as it now is, that ſome of the inhabitants of Maryland once imported flour for the uſe of their tables from the city of London. The books of an eminent merchant, of the laſt generation in Maryland ſhow, that this was actually the caſe, and at a time too, when that State was conſiderably advanced in population and refinement. Europe has in her days of barbariſm exhibited ſimilar inſtances of folly. The Swedes once imported all their vegetables from Holland.

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## *PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS.*

### *In the* HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES *of the* UNITED STATES.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1789.

Mr. THATCHER preſented a petition from the merchants of Portland, in the State of Maſſachuſetts—the prayer of which was, that the propoſed duty on molaſſes, ſhould not be eſtabliſhed by law.

The Houſe then formed into a committee of the whole, on the impoſt bill.

China, earthen, ſtone ware, looking glaſſes and bruſhes, were added to the liſt of enumerated articles, at 7 1-2 per cent. ad valorem.

Salt petre was added to the articles exempted from impoſt.

Mr. PARKER introduced a propoſition for a clauſe to be added to the bill, by which an impoſt of ten dollars ſhould be aſſeſſed on every ſlave imported into the United States.

This occaſioned a debate; in oppoſition, it was ſaid, " that it is a moſt unequal and partial tax, and peculiarly oppreſſive to ſome of the ſouthern States, and is ſo odious that it will not be ſubmitted to without grievous complaints—it will be conſidered as a direct tax, which conſidering the preſent ideas of the people will be highly impolitic."

In ſupport of the propoſed impoſt it was urged, " That the predominant ſentiment of the people is in favour of a tax prohibitory of the importation of ſlaves. Congreſs muſt juſtify this ſentiment, otherwiſe, it will be conſidered that we mean tacitly to countenance the ſlave trade; on the principles of policy and humanity, a heavy duty ought to be impoſed—this will conduce to the advantage of thoſe very States that conſidere their intereſt ſo deeply involved in the queſtion—their proſperity being intimately connected with an abolition of ſlavery—The buſineſs is diſgraceful and pernicious in a political and moral view, and tends to diminiſh the relative ſtrength and importance of thoſe States where it moſt generally obtains."

Mr. PARKER withdrew his motion, in order to introduce a ſeparate bill providing for this tax.

The article of Hemp it was propoſed ſhould be ſtruck out of the liſt; but after ſome obſervations the queſtion being taken, it was loſt.

A petition of JOHN FITCH, relative to Steam Boats, was preſented. *Adjourned.*

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THURSDAY, MAY 14.

A meſſage from the Senate was received, informing the Houſe that they had appointed a committee to join with a committee on their part, for the purpoſe of determining upon the number of newſpapers it will be proper for the members of both Houſes to be furniſhed with at the public expence.

A petition from A. M'LEAN, of the city of New-York, Printer, was read, offering his ſervices to Congreſs in the line of his profeſſion, to perform any part of the printing buſineſs for the United States.

Petition of Mr. MORSE was committed.

Petition of the inhabitants of New-Jerſey was referred to the committee of elections.

Petition of JOHN FITCH was referred to a ſpecial committee.

A memorial from the Diſtillers of Philadelphia, upon the ſubject of the propoſed duties on foreign Rum and Molaſſes, was read.—It ſtated that the duty on Molaſſes was in their opinion too high, compared with the duty on foreign rum.

In Committee of the whole Houſe,

The Impoſt Bill was reſumed, and having proceeded as far as the clauſe providing for a drawback on goods re-ſhipped, on which the Impoſt had been paid, the blank reſpecting the time allowed was filled with *twelve*, and the ſum to be retained, from the Impoſt paid in ſuch caſe, one pr. cent.

To counter-balance the loſs of revenue which would ariſe from the drawback on Salt, the three following articles, exported to foreign States, were dutied at five cents each.

Dried Fiſh, pr. quintal.
Pickled Fiſh, pr. barrel.
Salted Proviſions, do.

Drawbacks were propoſed on ſome particular articles, when

Mr. MADISON roſe, and made ſome obſervations upon the ineligibility of adopting them, and pointed out ſo fully their pernicious conſequences that the motion was withdrawn.

Mr. SMITH, of Maryland, introduced a clauſe to be added to the Impoſt Bill, which provided for the allowance of a diſcount of pr. cent. on all the duties impoſed on Goods, Wares, and Merchandize imported in American veſſels belonging wholly to citizens, or a citizen of the United States.

Mr. WHITE oppoſed the addition of this clauſe, as it would encreaſe the weight of that diſcrimination between foreign ſhipping and American, which already bore ſufficiently heavy on the Southern States. He conceived that they had already gone as far as a majority of that Houſe would think proper.

Mr. SHERMAN, upon the general principle of oppoſition to drawbacks, and to prevent a diminution of the Revenue, which he apprehended from the propoſition ſhould it be adopted, thought that it would be more eligible to enhance the duties on goods imported in foreign veſſels.

Mr. SYLVESTER obſerved, That as theſe drawbacks will place the Treaſury of the United States in a very aukward and uncertain ſituation, by taking away with one hand what is put in with the other, he muſt be oppoſed to the meaſure.

Mr. LAWRENCE was in favor of the clauſe—He pointed out a number of inſtances in which it would prove ſalutary—The diſcrimination which the State of New-York had made, had produced a very ſenſible encreaſe in her ſhipping.

Mr. WADSWORTH: Port charges, Sir, are againſt this country all foreign ports: The American ſhipping pays from 50 to 100 pr. cent. more in thoſe ports than foreigners pay in ours: We certainly, in juſtice to ourſelves, ought to place this matter more on a par; and as the propoſition before the Houſe will conduce in ſome degree to that object, I wiſh it may be adopted.

Mr. JACKSON: I took it for granted, Sir, that this ſubject of a diſcrimination on tonnage, had been ſufficiently attended to—I thought Sir, that the intereſt of the ſouthern governments, had been fully burthened to encourage the northern navigation.—Sir, the ſituation of Great-Britain and America, are quite different—That nation, ſituated on a little iſland, has need of all the encouragement poſſible to encreaſe her navy, and extend her commerce—How is it in America?—We Sir, are a nation of farmers, agriculture is the great ſupport of this country, on that we muſt depend—but Sir, how is it neglected? how is it ſacrificed in favour of navigation and manufactures.

This propoſition Sir, tends to the leſſening of our revenue, and encourages ſhip-building at that expence, as this drawback is taken directly from it—This, Sir, will operate moſt unjuſtly and oppreſſively, for the revenue paid by the ſouthern States, will be as a bounty to the northern ſhipping—What Sir, may we not expect—a dry tax will come next—this is a moſt odious diſcrimination—Our agriculture and produce, are already ſufficiently burthened—a navy is but a ſecondary conſideration in compariſon with agriculture—But admitting it to be of ever ſo great importance, it is already ſufficiently encouraged—This will prevent the ſhips of foreign nations, from coming to our ports—we have not ſufficient of our own—What is not to be apprehended? let gentlemen but conſider, how the States of Georgia, South and North-Carolina, muſt be affected and injured—We are willing to give a preference to our brethren to the eaſtward: but for God's ſake do not reſt the whole of that encouragement on us—we are but children yet—do not require that we ſhould run before we can walk.—I call upon the juſtice of this Houſe, that we may not have our eſſential intereſt, the agriculture of the ſouthern States, totally ſacrificed—I hope Sir, the propoſition will not be adopted.

Mr. GERRY obſerved in anſwer to Mr. JACKSON, that Great-Britain is juſtly tenacious of her navigation laws; As to their ſalutary and extenſive operation, ſhe owes the flouriſhing condition of her agriculture and commerce—navigation gives a ſpring to agriculture, to induſtry and manufactures; and the moſt effectual method to promote the encreaſe and ſale of the ſouthern produce, is to encourage and extend the American ſhipping.

Mr. BLAND was oppoſed to the clauſe, as it would operate demonſtratively to the leſſening of the revenue—which he endeavored to ſhew by ſtating the following inſtance, as an example, viz. A veſſel of 300 tons will pay—ſay 300 Dollars tonnage—one hundred thouſand pounds value in goods, may be imported in a ſhip of that burthen—the impoſt on ſuch a cargo at 5 per cent. is £.5000; a drawback of 10 per cent. on the ſum is £.500—which will prove a very great deduction from the revenue.

Mr. SMITH (of Maryland) ſtated a variety of facts, reſpecting the difference of the impoſitions on foreign and American veſſels in foreign countries.

Mr. LIVERMORE—I was, Sir, in favor of a diſcrimination between our own ſhipping, and that of foreign nations, as a wiſe and juſt encouragement to our own navigation; but I cannot conſent to the propoſition before the Houſe, as it would operate very unequally againſt thoſe parts of the Union who are obliged to import their goods chiefly in foreign bottoms.

Mr. LAWRENCE obſerved, that notwithſtanding it had been ſaid, that the agricultural intereſt was ſacrificed, yet in his opinion, much had been done for its encouragement, as was evident from recurring to the liſt of dutied articles in the bill:—The propoſed clauſe will encreaſe our navigation, on which depends in a great meaſure the encouragement of agriculture: It will operate to decreaſe the aggregate amount of the duties, which gentlemen contend are too high: It will have a twofold operation, as it will benefit the merchant, while it encourages the ſhip-building branch: Merchants ſhould be conſidered as manufacturers—they are eminently ſo, as contractors and proprietors in ſhipbuilding. The loſs of revenue apprehended, is inconſiderable, compared with the great, ſolid and laſting advantages to be derived from the encreaſe of our navigation and ſeamen.—I am heartily, Sir, in favor of the propoſed clauſe.

Mr. BOUDINOT—As I came, Sir, from an agricultural State, it will not be thought reaſonable, that I ſhould advocate meaſures that may contravene the farming intereſt: It has been my opinion from the begining, that the propoſed duties are too high, as they will operate directly reverſe from the deſign in impoſing them—they will defeat the object of revenue, by holding out temptations and inducements to ſmuggling, which all the powers of old and rigorous governments could not prevent.—This idea will naturally lead to the adoption of the propoſed clauſe, for as the ſubject of revenue is arrived to this advanced period, ſome plan that will produce a *general* and *ſenſible* diminution of the duties, will be thought more eligible, than to deſcend to particular articles; this propoſition is in point.

I do not therefore wiſh its adoption, meerly as an encouragement to navigation, although a very eſſential point—but as it will in its effects encreaſe the revenue and promote agriculture and manufactures.

I ſhould not be in favour of the clauſe, did it appear to me that it would have an unequal operation: the general idea is, that the duties are too high.—This ſentiment, I find is entertained by the firſt mercantile characters—I have taken pains to acquire the moſt accurate information upon the ſubject, and from the whole, am firmly perſuaded, that a deduction will be in favour of the revenue.

The ſouthern States will be particularly benefited by this clauſe, as it will hold out the ſtrongeſt inducements to American ſhipping, to carry the produce from foreign countries to thoſe States, and will greatly encreaſe our domeſtic navigation.

This will prevent ſmuggling, as it will intereſt the Americans who enjoy the advantage of it, to be vigilant in detecting breaches of the law, and thus they will become watchmen over foreigners, and be guardians of the revenue.—The gentleman added many more obſervations, and concluded by ſaying, that he hoped the propoſition would be acceded to.

Mr. JACKSON, Mr. TUCKER, Mr. PARKER, Mr. SENEY and Mr. SINNEKSON, ſeverally ſpoke upon the queſtion; when the vote being taken, it paſſed in the affirmative—30 to 16—The blank was then filled up with 10 per cent.

The committee then roſe—and the Speaker having reſumed the chair. The ſeveral amendments and inſertions of the bill were read and excepted: It was then ordered to be engroſſed for a third reading to-morrow.

Mr. MADISON of the committee appointed to confer with a committee from the Senate, on the diſagreeing votes of the two Houſes on the ſubject of titles, reported, that the committee of the Senate had informed them, that the Senate would for the preſent, addreſs THE PRESIDENT under the ſame ſtyle and title that the Houſe of Repreſentatives had adopted.

*Adjourned.*

FRIDAY, MAY 15.

Mr. BLAND from the committee appointed on the part of the Houſe, to confer with a committee of the Senate, upon deviſing an arrangement for the paſſing and completing bills &c. made a report, which was read.

This report being lengthy and important, it was voted that on Monday next, the Houſe would reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole, for the purpoſe of taking it into conſideration—Upon motion of Mr. THATCHER, it was ordered, that 100 copies be printed for the inſpection of the members.

A committee conſiſting of Mr. SYLVESTER, Mr. WYNKOOP and Mr. SMITH, of South-Carolina, was appointed to confer with the committee of the Senate, upon the ſubject of news-papers—The ſame committee was alſo authoriſed to receive propoſals from Printers, for performing the public buſineſs in that line.

Petitions from JOHN SWAIN and FRANCIS CHILDS, and SAMUEL and JOHN LOUDON, Printers, were read—and referred to the above committee—alſo the petition of A. M'LEAN, read yeſterday.

A petition from Lieutenant HINDS, of the corps of Invalids, of Maſſachuſetts, was preſented by Mr. PARTRIDGE.

Another petition from the inhabitants of New-Jerſey, on the ſubject of their election of Repreſentatives, for the Congreſs of the United States, was read, and referred to the committee of elections.

Mr. SHERMAN aſked leave of abſence for ten days, which was granted.

Mr. BOUDINOT moved that the Houſe ſhould now come to a vote—That on Tueſday next, the Houſe would reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole, to take into conſideration the arrangement of the Executive Department. Which was done.

Mr. WHITE introduced a reſolve of the legiſlature of the State of Virginia, by which a tender is made to Congreſs of ten miles ſquare, in any part of that State, which they may think proper to chooſe.

The impoſt bill as engroſſed was then read; but an amendment being moved and ſeconded, it was after ſome debate recommitted—The SPEAKER then left the chair, and the Houſe formed into a committee of the whole—the amendment provided for extending the duty on diſtilled ſpirits, Jamaica proof, and all other ſpirits imported *from any other country whatever*.—This amendment being adopted, the committee roſe when the ſame was accepted by the Houſe, and the bill was paſſed to be engroſſed.

Mr. MADISON then introduced a clauſe to be added to the bill providing for a limitation to the exiſtence of the act—This brought on a very intereſting debate, which continued without coming to any deciſion, till the adjournment.

*NEW-YORK, MAY 16.*

Yeſterday, agreeably to the Conſtitution, the Senate of the United States was claſſed.

The Claſſes were determined by Lot, and are as follows, viz.

*Firſt Claſs—for Two Years.*

| | |
|---|---|
| TRISTRAM DALTON, | GEORGE READ, |
| OLIVER ELSWORTH, | CHARLES CARROLL, |
| JOHN ELMER, | WILLIAM GRAYSON, |
| WILLIAM MACLAY, | |

*Second Claſs—for Four Years.*

| | |
|---|---|
| PAINE WINGATE, | RICHARD HENRY LEE, |
| CALEB STRONG, | PIERCE BUTLER, |
| WILLIAM PATTERSON, | WILLIAM FEW. |
| RICHARD BASSETT, | |

*Third Claſs—for Four Years,*

| | |
|---|---|
| JOHN LANGDON, | JOHN HENRY, |
| WILLIAM S. JOHNSON, | RALPH IZARD, |
| ROBERT MORRIS, | JAMES GUNN. |

*The mode adopted on this occaſion was as follows:*

A Committee of the Senate was choſen to divide the whole number into Three Claſſes.—Three Lots, marked No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3, were put into a Box—a Member from each Claſs was appointed to draw one of the Lots—and the Lot drawn determined the Rotation of the Claſs to which ſuch number belonged.

Yeſterday Mr. F. P. VAN BERCKEL had an audience of THE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, in which he delivered his *Credentials* of RESIDENT from THEIR HIGH MIGHTINESSES THE STATES GENERAL OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS, having been introduced by the Hon. JOHN JAY, *Secretary of State for the Department of foreign affairs.*

Yeſterday the VICE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, the *Heads of Departments*, the *Foreign Miniſters*, the *Judges* of the *Supreme Court* of this State, together with a numerous Circle of Citizens and Foreigners, viſited THE PRESIDENT at his Houſe.

Laſt Thurſday evening, His Excellency THE MINISTER of FRANCE, gave a Ball to THE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, which was uncommonly elegant, in reſpect both to the company and the plan of the entertainment. As a compliment to our alliance with France, there were two ſets of *Cotillion Dancers* in complete uniforms; one ſet in that of France, and the other in *Blue and Buff*: The ladies were dreſſed in white, with *Ribbands, Bouquets and Garlands of Flowers*, anſwering to the uniforms of the Gentlemen.—THE VICE-PRESIDENT—many Members of the Senate, and Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States—THE GOVERNOR of this State—THE GOVERNOR of the Weſtern Teritory, and other characters of diſtinction were preſent.

*A PHILOSOPHIC SCRAP.*

THE city of New-York, furniſhes a juſt Epitome of the inhabitants of no inconſiderable part of the globe.—It muſt be a grateful idea to a liberal mind, to obſerve ſuch a variety of people collected from different nations; harmonizing in all points that are eſſential to the happineſs and welfare of the whole. The ſpirit of toleration, that has always characteriſed the citizens of this State, the various methods taken to render ſubſiſtence eaſy and certain to the honeſt and induſtrious, have operated as a powerful means to draw to a center, people diverſified in their attachments, prejudices and manners.—The eye of the curious, may be gratified by tracing the peculiarities of thoſe who came from different countries, ſo far as to diſtinguiſh from what original they ſprang; while the eye of philoſophy is delighted in obſerving the accommodating ſpirit, and liberal views, that are gaining an aſcendency over local feelings and opinions.—Thoſe ſharp points of peculiarity, that have rendered the people of different States and nations hurtful or diſagreeable to each other are wearing off. At the ſame time, they retain a ſufficient degree of former attachments and cuſtoms, to ſhew that they have not loſt all love or pride for their native country, or that they wiſh to deny from whence they came.

*HINT TO THE IMPORTERS.*

A correſpondent, who obſerved the citizens on Sunday laſt leaving the ſeveral churches after ſervice, was extremely ſorry to find the ladies ſo incommoded by the rain. This inconvenience was occaſioned by the ſmall ſize of moſt of the Umbrellas that are at preſent in uſe. In ſeveral inſtances he obſerved, that a conſiderable part of the hats and bonnets of the ladies were without any ſhelter againſt the rain, as the Umbrellas, from their ſmallneſs, were inſufficient to cover them. It is therefore hoped, that the next importation of umbrellas will be of a larger ſize. No perſon who is fond of ſeeing variety and elegance of taſte, can wiſh to deprive the ladies of ſo fair an opportunity as they now find in the extenſive dimenſions of their hats. But it is greatly to be feared, unleſs ſome better expedient is fallen upon to ſecure them againſt rain than the preſent umbrellas can afford, that they will be obliged to curtail the one to the ſize of other.

MR. FENNO,

*The following* ODE *was written and inſcribed to* General WASHINGTON, *a ſhort time after the ſurrender of* York-Town.

## The VISION.

'TWAS in a beauteous verdant ſhade,
Deck'd by the genius of the glade,
With Nature's fragrant ſtores;
Where Fairy Elves light trip'd the green—
Where Silvan Nymphs were often ſeen
To ſtrew the ſweeteſt flowers.

Lethean air from Tempe's vale,
Wafted an aromatic gale,
And lull'd my ſoul to reſt:
I ſaw, or muſing ſeem'd to ſee,
The future years of Deſtiny,
That brighten'd all the Weſt.

The Muſe array'd in heav'nly grace,
Call'd up each actor in his place
Before my wondering eyes;
The magic of the Aonian Maid,
The world of Viſion wide diſplay'd,
And bid the ſcenes ariſe.

I ſaw great FABIUS come in ſtate,
I ſaw the Britiſh Lion's fate,
The Unicorn's deſpair;
Conven'd in Secrecy's Divan,
The Chiefs contriv'd the fav'rite plan,
And *York-Town* clos'd the war.

Nor could the dazzling triumph charm
The friends of faction, or its rage diſarm—
Fierce to divide, to weaken and ſubvert:
I ſaw the Imps of Diſcord riſe—
*Intrigue*, with little arts, ſurpriſe,
*Delude*—*alarm*—and then the State deſert.

My ſoul grew ſick of human things—
I took my Harp, and touch'd the ſtrings,
Full often ſet to woe;
Conjur'd the gentle Muſe to take
The power of future knowledge back—
No more I wiſh'd to know.

*Raſh Mortal ſtop!* She cried with zeal,
One ſecret more I muſt reveal,
That will renew your prime:
Theſe ſtorms will work the wiſh'd for cure;
And put the *State* in health ſo pure,
As to reſiſt old *Time*.

The free born mind will feel the force,
That Juſtice is the only ſource
Of Laws conciſe and clear;
Their native rights, they will reſign
To *Men*, who can thoſe rights define,
And every burthen bear.

The *SACRED COMPACT*, in a band
Of brothers, ſhall unite the land,
And Envy's ſelf be dead;
The Body one, and one the ſoul,
Virtue ſhall animate the whole,
And FABIUS be the head.

Rous'd from the enthuſiaſtic dream,
By the ſoft murmur of a ſtream,
That glided thro' the meads,
I tun'd my lyre to themes reſin'd,
While Nature's gentle voices join'd,
To ſing the glorious deeds.

When lo! *HIMSELF*, the *CHIEF* rever'd,
In native elegance appear'd,
And all things ſmil'd around,
Adorn'd with every pleaſing art,
Enthron'd the Sov'reign of each heart,
I ſaw the *HERO* crown'd.

*New-Jerſey, May* 1789.

*Mr.* FENNO.

IN anſwer to the decently-expreſſed interrogation of an AMERICAN CITIZEN, inſerted in your laſt paper, *Your former Correſpondent* begs leave to obſerve, *that from* CUSTOM *or* COURTESY *the title of* EXCELLENCY *is given (he believes in all the Countries of Europe) to* AMBASSADORS; *and, therefore, he was apprehenſive that* FOREIGNERS *might be induced to conſider the* PRESIDENT *of the* UNITED STATES, *if denominated by the ſame appellation, upon a level with a* SUBORDINATE PUBLIC OFFICER. Your former Correſpondent neither aſſerted, that "any Officer under the American Government, in the Diplomatic or in any other Line, is "entitled to the ſtyle or title of Excellency;"—*nor is he an Advocate for titles diſtinct from the deſcriptive ones conferred by the* CONSTITUTION. But as he conceived it would not be practicable to prevent the People of any European Country, where an American Ambaſſador ſhall reſide, from ſtyling him, as they do all Ambaſſadors, HIS EXCELLENCY; the principal object was to obviate a poſſible confuſion of ideas in Foreigners, who might not be extremely capable of diſcriminating in regard to the relative powers and functions of Perſons holding Offices under the American Government.

*TO CORRESPONDENTS.*

☞ The GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES is devoted to the cauſe of Truth and the Public Good; and Speculations wrote with *propriety*, *candor*, and *decency*, which have that object, and the general Welfare for their baſis, will always meet with a ready inſertion.—Our two Correſpondents upon the ſubject of Titles, came within this deſcription, and their favors merit our thanks.

Future Communications from the perſon who favored us with the beautiful ODE inſerted this day, will be gratefully received.

*PRICE-CURRENT.*

*NEW-YORK.*

| | *New-York Currency.* | |
|---|---|---|
| Superfine Flour, | 44*ſ.* | per barrel. |
| Common do. | 40*ſ.* | |
| Wheat, | 8*ſ.* | |
| Country refined Bar-Iron, | 30*l.* | per C. wt. |
| Do. Bloomery, | 28*l.* | |
| Pig-Iron, | 9*l.* | |
| Pot-Aſh, | 44*l.* | per ton. |
| Pearl-Aſh, | 46*l* | |
| Pimento, | 1*ſ*8. *a* 1*ſ*9. | per lb. |
| Chocolate, | 11*d. a* 13*d.* | |
| Cocoa, | 70*ſ.* | |
| Pork Connecticut, | 72*ſ.* | |
| Muſcovado Sugar, | 50*ſ. a* 70*ſ.* | per cwt. |
| Jamaica Spirits, | 4*ſ*6. *a* 4*ſ*9. | per gallon. |
| Windward Iſland Rum, | 4*ſ. a* 4*ſ*2. | |
| Country do. | 2*ſ*7. | |

*PUBLIC SECURITIES.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Final Settlements, | 5*ſ.* |
| Indents, | 3*ſ*2. |

## THE TABLET.——No. X.

*"Faction may find a man honeſt, but it ſeldom leaves him ſo."*

[The two following numbers, reſpecting party diſputes, contain the ſubſtance of an epiſtle addreſſed to a young friend, who wiſhed to form rules, that might direct his conduct in life, viz.]

NO ſubject, perhaps, can be conſidered in more different lights, than that of faction. It may be declaimed againſt, as the moſt monſtrous evil, that ever convulſed or overturned States. It can be proved to the higheſt degree of demonſtration, to have occaſioned more frequently, the total loſs of morals in individuals, and to have produced more calamitous effects in ſociety, than any other circumſtance that can be named.

On the other hand, we can hardly conceive how a government can exiſt, with any vigor or reputation, without the forcible influence of party ſpirit. It is one of the main ſprings of political motion, whoſe elaſtic power gives the moſt eſſential wheels of the machine, their force and direction. It has been the prime mover, in originating ſome of the moſt celebrated eſtabliſhments, that are at this day admired for their excellence, or eſteemed for their utility. To draw a juſt compariſon between the uſeful and pernicious conſequences, that flow from faction, would be impracticable. We ſhould, after the faireſt inveſtigation, remain at a loſs in fixing preciſe limits, ſo as to determine all the caſes, in which the good or evil preponderated.

My view, in entering upon the ſubject, is to mark out ſuch a plan of conduct, as an honeſt, judicious individual would be apt to obſerve, reſpecting party diſputes. And here again it will be difficult to preſcribe definite rules. There may, however, be ſome concluſions, tolerably juſt and ſatisfactory. Were a man only to conſult his perſonal tranquility, and the dignity and influence of his character in a general view, he would doubtleſs refrain from taking any part in the diſcords and tumults which agitate ſociety.—But there are ſtrong reaſons that counteract a diſpoſition to neutrality. Few men are ſo ſituated in life, as not to be greatly dependent on a particular ſet of connections. It is almoſt impoſſible, therefore, for any man, to act in every inſtance, upon principles of ſtrict propriety, independent of circumſtances, that are extrinſic from the real merits of the queſtion. By obſerving a line of conduct totally juſt and impartial, he would often, but not always, ſuſtain a greater inconvenience, in loſing the good will of his particular friends, than he would derive benefit, by being characterized in the general eſtimation of mankind, as a perſon of moderation and impartiallity. "For thoſe, who continue neutre in any civil diſſentions under the denomination of moderate men, who keep aloof and wait quietly, in order to follow the fortune of the prevailing ſide are generally ſtigmatized with the opprobious name of *time ſervers*, and conſequently neither eſteemed nor truſted by either party."

In this dilemma, what advice would be proper to give a young adventurer, juſt entering a career of political life? Shall we warn him againſt taking *any* part, in the diſſentions of the times? No!—Shall we tell him, to declare himſelf a decided partizan, in *every* diſpute, that occurs in public affairs? No! It would be requiſite to exhibit to his view, the nature of ſeveral kinds of controverſies, and ſhew him, in a general way, how far he may ſafely venture, and where he ſhould come to a ſtand. In this attempt, we could not, however, fix exact boundaries. Part of his conduct muſt be governed by his judgment and integrity, in acting, as the occaſion may make eligible. For although the extremes, either way, may be ſo obviouſly marked out, as to render preciſe directions practicable; yet as we approach towards that central point, where the lines of right and wrong meet, we cannot always determine beforehand, where one will end, and the other begin. There is a certain ſpace, where the lines ſo run into each other, that the ſhades of both are blended. We can only obſerve, that under a conſideration of all circumſtances, in this intermediate tract, a perſon may act, as his convenience may direct. If he commits an error, it will be ſo immaterial, as will not be very dangerous or diſhonorable.

Some queſtions of ſo important a nature are agitated, that the community at large are intereſted in the deciſion. When the form of government is propoſed to be altered; or when ſyſtems are to be introduced, that affect every part of a nation, no perſon ſhould conſider himſelf an indifferent ſpectator, in the ſcene. It is the duty of every man to take his ſide and make known his ſentiments. He ſhould not act with duplicity, under the idea of being the friend of all parties. Nor ſhould his conduct be mean and overbearing towards his opponents from a deſire of popularity in that party, which he advocates. He ſhould, in no poſſible inſtance, deny his principles; but it is neither modeſt or prudent, in all ſituations to declare them. In a large company of his antagoniſts, an unſolicited declaration of his ſentiments will have no good effect. It will be more likely to procure enemies than converts. His deportment ſhould be equally civil, as if they were all of the ſame way of thinking. In this manner, he avoids the charge of being a time-ſerver, promotes the influence of his party; and as far as that is right, the intereſt of his country. Before he has choſen his ſide, it muſt be preſumed, he has deliberately weighed the ſubject, and that he acts from a conviction of duty; or at any rate, that he does not eſſentially act contrary to it. His conſcience ſhould bear him witneſs, that he is ſerving his country as well as his party.

But if the young adventurer, after the moſt mature examination, feels incompetent to determine, which party has the right of the queſtion, how ſhall he govern himſelf? ſhall he follow the ſteps of his moſt intimate acquaintance, on whoſe advice he can beſt rely; and whoſe friendſhip he moſt needs? Perhaps even this will not be altogether attainable, as aſſociates, equally dear to him in private life, have ranged themſelves on different ſides. He is now in a delicate ſituation. I pity him with all my heart. Thoſe very friends and aſſociates, who are taking different parts, will, before the diſpute is over, become inveterate enemies. The bands of private friendſhip are ſeldom ſufficient to ſtand the ſhock of party animoſities. The embarraſſed youth, after all, will be obliged to judge for himſelf. To aid his deciſions, in a caſe, where from inexperience or incapacity, he is at a loſs how to determine the merits of the queſtion, he ſhould carefully eſtimate the characters who are engaged, on the oppoſite ſides. Wherever he finds the moſt ſubſtantial information, and the greateſt weight of private reputation, it is a tolerable preſumption, that that party is the beſt and will finally prevail. Men, who have the greateſt advantages in gaining information, and the ſtrongeſt inducements to make an honeſt application of their knowledge, will, in the general run of affairs, carry their point and eſtabliſh their cauſe. But unfortunately even this reſource may fail our youthful inquirer. It is not impoſſible he may find the virtuous and ſenſible ſo nearly divided, that he may be utterly at a loſs which ſide has the beſt ſupport. When the iſſue of the matter is ſubject to ſo much chance and contingence, and truth ſo difficult to aſcertain, a good man will ſcarce know how to proceed. As a general rule however, I think he had better attach himſelf to one ſide or the other, than to remain in a ſtate of neutrality.

Having taken a poſition, it is to be hoped, our young friend will defend it, with honeſty and firmneſs. It ſhould not be required of him to become a bad man, in order to become a good politician. Has he been accuſtomed to view certain actions as mean, vicious or inconſiſtent; let him ſtill view them ſo. Has he, in times paſt, felt conſcience reſtraining him, when he was tempted to do wrong; he need not now throw off thoſe reſtraints. Has he formerly conſidered veracity, honeſty and candor as uſeful or amiable; I intreat that he would not now neglect or diſown them. His perſonal friends may be ſelected from either party, and ſhould conſiſt of ſuch characters as are moſt reſpectable and worthy, and as beſt accord with his particular humour. There is an exception to this indulgence, when the matter in diſpute is to be decided by arms. In ſuch ſituation a perſon ſhould reſtrain his interview with thoſe oppoſed to him, until the conteſt is over. The intercourſe of private friendſhip will ſubject him to the odium and ſuſpicion of thoſe in concert with him; and will diminiſh his zeal and exertions in favor of a cauſe, which by his actions, he ſuppoſes to be juſt.

If I may be allowed to proceed any further, in adviſing him, I would even expoſtulate with him, never to place himſelf at the head of a party. It will infallably deſtroy his happineſs, and blunt all his feelings of natural rectitude. He will bring every thing to the ſtandard of his party views. No virtue or talents can ſecure a man againſt his ill will and perſecution, who is on the oppoſite ſide. No deformity of character will diſqualify thoſe, who are engaged in his intereſt. If they are wrong in every thing elſe he will inſiſt upon it, they are right, in that inſtance. They ceaſe to be knaves or fools, who fly to him for ſanctuary. He acquires an habit of making declarations, which he does not believe are true; and engagements, which he does not mean to fulfil.

Notwithſtanding I have aſſerted that, in all diſputes which concern the public at large, no man ſhould ſtand neuter, yet there are often inferior or ſubordinate parties in the community, which, it may be optional, whether a man joins or not: If he acts prudently he will ſeldom enter with virulence into ſuch contentions; and if he acts conſcientiouſly, his ſervices will be too cold and circumſpect to gain him popularity with any party. In all unimportant altercations, a benevolent man will have a view to reconciliation, rather than victory. Perhaps in ſome inſtances, by taking a particular ſide, and conducting in a mild conciliatory manner, he may reconcile the difference, and bring the parties into a union of meaſures. Whenever he can do this, it is a moſt meritorious action. Many diſputes are ſo trivial, that unleſs a perſon ſtrongly participates of party ſpirit, he cannot feel intereſted in the event. Every perſon concerned in them, ſuſtains a greater injury by the loſs of general influence in ſociety, than he gains advantages from the friendſhip of his partizans. It may even be doubted whether thoſe, who are advocating the ſame cauſe, do not in reality view him with leſs reſpect than if he had let the matter alone. This is a difficult point to decide, and brings the diſcernment to a critical teſt. I know very few perſons, noted for party contention, that have ever acquired the general confidence and eſteem of their fellow men. It is often a very certain method of loſing uſeful influence. Men, from the beſt of principles, may ſhun each ſide of a controverſy; not becauſe they ſeek the favor, or fear the cenſure of either, but becauſe they deſpiſe the actions of both. From the whole, this concluſion may be drawn; that in any great and general queſtion, no inhabitant of the country where it operates ſhould hide his ſentiments or deny his party; In any low, or diſgraceful conteſt, no perſon of a good judgment or a good heart will make himſelf buſy—but in a great variety of diſputes, that come within theſe extremes, a man muſt act from the impulſes of the occaſion: He will however more ſafely err, by joining too few, than too many parties.

## *NATIONAL MONITOR.*——No. IV.

"From righteous Laws, life's choiceſt bleſſings come,"
"HONOR abroad, and LIBERTY at home."

*THE Creator of the Univerſe, whoſe works are the effect of perfect wiſdom, and boundleſs benevolence, has ſtamped his own divinity upon the ſcience of government, by inſeparably connecting with it, every ſocial and public bleſſing.*

*If we look back to the times of the groſſeſt ignorance and barbariſm, we ſhall find that our ſpecies have always been indebted to the rude ideas of government, which ſpring almoſt ſpontaneous in the human mind, for the few enjoyments which fall to the lot of undiſciplined nature.*

*And though mankind, wild and untutored, diſcover only detached and partial ſpecimens of the effects of laws—Yet without rules and orders, even Savages cannot exiſt.*

*In forlorn, ſolitary, wandering independent families of the wilderneſs—you may trace the progreſs and influence of government in forming them into tribes, and thoſe again into a Union of different hords under one particular chief—combining for mutual defence, and the more effectually obtaining thoſe objects which require united exertions for their acquiſition.*

*As mankind begin to realize the advantages of government in the ſurpriſing difference, it creates between ſavage and civilized nature, they are naturally led to extend their ideas, and look forward to improvements in this ſcience, with a rational hope of concurring effects.*

*This conſequence is congenial to the enterpriſing nature of our ſpecies—to this principle, under the influence of that wiſdom which cannot err, more than to any other cauſe, may be aſcribed the progreſs of ſociety, the improvement and perfection of laws and government.*

*That government compriſes, confers and inſures all the bleſſings of life, has been the prevailing ſentiment of all mankind from the earlieſt accounts of ſociety.—This has been evinced by thouſands of incidents which might be adduced.*

*As the retreat from every public misfortune—as the reward of every toil, hazard and ſuffering, to repoſe on the boſom of their native country, under the auſpices of good government, has been the ultimate object of the exertions of patriots, heroes and ſtateſmen.—This ſentiment has been ſo univerſal, that it may be juſtly ſuppoſed to be inſpired into the human mind by its creator—It is an impulſe founded on principles, that are perfect in their nature—though perhaps they remain to be fully exemplified. Civilized and poliſhed ſociety, owes its exiſtence to the transforming power of government; for it is a given point that habits, ſcience, and morals are ſubſequent to laws and ſalutary regulations.*

*Previous to the late revolution, the people of America were the happieſt on the face of the earth, and would have continued ſo under the benign influences of loyalty, and a ſacred regard to juſt and equal laws, had not the power of avarice, and the luſt of domination diſturbed their tranquility and deranged all their plans of happineſs.*

*The late war, however, with all its horrid train of conſequences, were but momentary evils—The lenient hand of time would have ſoon obliterated them, and like mariners eſcaping a ſhip-wreck, contemplating the proſpect before us—we ſhould have* "ſmiled on the ruins, and enjoyed the ſtorm,"—*but there were conſequences to be apprehended from the triumph of independence, which were of a more durable and ſerious nature.—The wiſe and diſcerning foreſaw them and warned their countrymen—I mean the univerſal relaxation of the principles of government, which was a more alarming circumſtance than all the other effects of the war—becauſe moral evils are more difficult to remove, than natural.—We have been on the verge of ruin, but the force of early prejudices and habits here interpoſed, and directed our ſteps to the only retreat from deſtruction*—a firm, a juſt and efficient government.

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